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ABSTRACT

This report summarizes information, current in 1966, on the educational status of the nonwhite population. The study includes the following topics: (1) education and race: the racial gap in education closes, (2) education and employment: the racial unemployment income gap remains, (3) education and income: the racial income gap remains, (4) education and occupation: the racial occupation gap remains, (5) quality education: desegregation-integration, (6) Northern education: Southern style, (7) Southern education: inequality for all, and (8) educating the majority of the nonwhite population: the youth. Major findings are: (1) that lower employment levels of older nonwhite citizens are traceable, in part, to deficiencies in their educational attainment, but the younger nonwhite has made great strides in closing the racial gap in education and (2) that despite continued improvement in income and occupation over the years and the drive to extend increased opportunities to all, the white-nonwhite gap in employment and earnings remain. Recommendations, and some suggestions for equalizing educational opportunities are also detailed. A bibliography of data sources is provided. (RJ)

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EDUCATION AND RACE

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"Among Negroes at all levels and ages a high value is normally placed on education because they consider education the most effective, if not the only sure, means of advancement. A number of studies indicate that, among poor families, Negro parents tend to be more interested in their children's schooling and more ambitious for their children than white parents."

Monthly Labor Review, U. S. Department of Labor,
May, 1965.

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The National Urban League is happy to make this document available to the general public.

The report, compiled and prepared by Mrs. Sylvia Lauter a member of our staff, summarizes the most recent information on the educational status of the nonwhite population.

The lower employment levels of older nonwhite citizens are traceable, in part, to deficiencies in their educational attainment, but the younger nonwhite has made great strides in closing the racial gap in education.

Despite continued improvement in income and occupation over the years and the drive today to extend increased opportunities to all, the white-nonwhite gap in employment and earnings remain.

It is our hope that this booklet will motivate the reader to seek quality education in our schools and equal opportunity in all areas, throughout the length and breadth of the land.

Whitney M. Young Jr.

WHITNEY M. YOUNG, JR.

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EDUCATION AND RACE

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Chapter I

EDUCATION AND RACE

The Racial Gap in Education Closes

There can be no questioning the economic fact that education and training are increasingly essential to employment. Job opportunities, expanding most in areas where education is required, have actually been declining for the uneducated. The already small 10% of the labor force which today holds unskilled jobs is expected to drop to only 5% by 1970.

Growth in U.S. Labor Force 1952-1962

Education Requirements	Change
College graduate or more	+ 67%
1-3 years college	+ 40%
High school graduate	+ 30%
No secondary education	- 25%

Projected Growth U.S. Labor Force, 1964-1975*

Occupation	Change
Professional, technical and kindred	+ 40%
White collar, clerical	+ 33%
Skilled craftsmen	+ 25%
Manufacturing employment	+ 20%
Agricultural employment	- 20%

* U.S. Department of Labor "Occupational Outlook Handbook" 1966.

Race

It is understandable then that the employment and income of the nonwhite, no less than that of the white, should be closely tied to his educational attainment.

However, investigation of the facts shows that there are, as is usual in conditions concerning the nonwhite, two questions - not one. Only one of them is the education required for employment. The other is race. Because of population trends, namely the strong Negro migration out of the rural South and the increase in Negro youth, this racial factor regarding education and employment has become especially significant today.

The nonwhite family evidently makes greater effort to have its child educated. Americans generally tend to educate their young if they can afford it. The higher the family income, the greater the proportion of high school graduates. Nevertheless, the nonwhite family makes a relatively greater financial sacrifice to educate its child as evidenced by the fact that a high 1 out of every 3 (30%) nonwhite families with a high school graduate earned less than the $3,000 poverty level compared with about only 1 out of 10 (9.3%) of the white families in poverty.

The Education Gap Closes: The Young Nonwhite

The Negro today is very young, much younger (8 years) than the white. The importance of this factor in relation to education is that the younger the nonwhite, both male and female, the closer is his educational level to that of the white.

U.S. Population: March, 1964

	White	Negro*
Total Population	167,046,000	20,739,000
Median Age	29.5 yrs.	21.7 yrs.
Total % Under 35 Years	56.4%	66.0%
Age Distribution		
13 years and younger	28.5%	36.8%
14 - 24 years of age	16.4%	17.6%
Total % under 25 years	44.9%	54.4%
Total % 25 years and over	55.1	45.6
	100.0%	100.0%

* Negroes account for nearly 95% of all nonwhites in the United States.

Such a large proportion of youth on the part of nonwhites is the result of a 25 year trend of higher birth rates and lower mortality rates at birth. This trend will continue as the recent crop of babies grows. New York City, for example, expects it nonwhite 15 - 24 year old population, excluding any further in-migration, to expand by 70% between 1960 and 1975 as against a 22% increase in whites of this age.

Age Distribution of Negro Population, March 1964

	1964	1960	1950
Under 25 Years	54.4%	52.0%	48.1%
25 Years and Over	45.6	48.0	51.9

As indicated by the table above, by March 1964, more than 1 of every 2 (54.4%) Negroes was 24 years or younger; more than 1 out of 3 (37%) was 13 years or younger. This compares with less than half (45%) and less than a third (almost 30%) respectively for whites. The under-35-year nonwhite population is a substantial 2 out of every 3 Negroes (66%) compared with about 1 out of 2 (56%) for whites.

How then have these younger nonwhites fared in closing the white - nonwhite gaps in education, income, and employment? Remarkably well in education. In income, employment, and occupation, the gaps are either unaltered or widening.

By March 1964, the average school years completed by nonwhite men under 25 years was only less than 1 year under that for white men; for nonwhite women under 25 it was less than 1/2 year under that for white women.

It is exactly this young nonwhite population, male and female, that has been showing remarkable strides in education, relatively faster strides than whites thereby almost closing the white - nonwhite education gap. Whether considering the 14 - 24 year group or the 14 - 34 year group, as of March 1964, there was less than a one year difference in years of school completed between white and nonwhite persons. When the differences are more closely measured by dividing this group (14-34 years) into 5-year groups, white - nonwhite educational differences declined to half and less than half a year for the 14-17 and 20-24 year groups; of all 5 groups, only one (18-19 year old at 1.1 years) was slightly above 1 year.

Median Years of School Completed by Age and Race, March 1964

	Age Groups								
	14-17	18-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65&Over
Years School Completed									
White	9.5	12.2	12.5	12.5	12.4	12.3	12.0	9.7	8.5
Nonwhite	9.0	11.1	12.1	11.8	11.3	10.1	8.3	7.2	5.0
YEARS DIFFERENCE	0.5	1.1	0.4	0.7	1.1	2.2	3.7	2.5	3.5
Male									
White	9.4	12.2	12.6	12.5	12.5	12.3	11.9	9.3	8.8
Nonwhite	8.7	10.5	11.9	11.6	11.1	9.5	8.3	6.6	4.8
YEARS DIFFERENCE	0.7	1.7	0.7	0.9	1.4	2.8	3.6	2.7	4.0
Female									
White	9.6	12.3	12.5	12.4	12.4	12.3	12.1	10.1	8.6
Nonwhite	9.3	11.8	12.1	11.9	11.5	10.5	8.4	7.6	5.1
YEARS DIFFERENCE	0.3	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.9	1.8	3.7	2.5	3.5

The nonwhite, thus, is catching up with the white in education. It is only in the groups over 35 years that there is greater than this 1 year difference, with the 45-54 year old group difference jumping close to 4 years, probably due to the educational advantages of the G.I. Bill after World War II. In the 55 - 64 year group, the differences are less (nearer to 2-1/2 years) due to the white's low education level at this older age; the nonwhite male over 65, averaging only 4.8 years of schooling (functional illiterate), exhibits the greatest difference, 4 years behind. It is the statistical inclusion of these older nonwhite age groups, usually completely out of the labor market, that makes the overall average educational attainment of Negroes appear low, far below what they actually are in the younger, employable age groups.

Since World War II, in every age group, except the 45-54, the nonwhite has shown a greater increase in years of school completed than the white.

The Dropout

Nevertheless, there still remains much to do. Although the nonwhite has come along rapidly in improving his educational level, his dropout rate still remains relatively and disproportionately high. Of the total 600,000 dropouts of all those enrolled in elementary and high schools in the school year 1963-64, the dropout rate of nonwhite youths 14-24 years of age was 25% or 1 out of 4, double their enrollment rate of 12% or 1 out of 8. In October 1964, a study of out-of-school 16 to 21 year-olds revealed a high nonwhite dropout rate of 1 out of 2 compared with a white rate of about 1 out of 3. In addition, these national averages tend to be much lower than those of many important areas in the U.S.

Furthermore, there may be a new danger signal evident in the table above which indicates that the white - nonwhite difference in the years of school completed by the 18 - 19 year old youth is beginning to fall behind again in years of school completed to a little over a year (1.1 years) while all the other 3 age groupings near it show less than a year's difference.

There is a danger that the Negro youth may again be getting discouraged. Further evidence of this is the fact that the 14-24 year old young white (male and female) showed a slight improvement (decline) in the dropout rate in the past 4 years, while the Negro youth (male and female) showed a slight worsening (increase). One of the possible causes may be the lack of job reward for the nonwhite high school graduate. His high unemployment rate is the same whether he graduates or drops out.

White youth are also experiencing quite a high dropout rate (1 our of 3 as noted above) doubtless reflecting the generally poor condition of our public education for white as well as nonwhite throughout the country.

The Illiterate: Functional and Total

Although functional illiteracy (under 5 years of schooling) occurs at all ages and among all races, it was more than 3 times as prevalent among nonwhites in 1960.

Functional Illiterates, 25 Years and Over

	1960	1940
White	7%	11%
Nonwhite	23%	41%

Some progress has been made since 1960, especially discernible among the over 54 year old nonwhites who have increased their years of schooling at a slightly faster rate than whites. Nevertheless, the illiteracy problem remains. In fact, the over 64-year-old nonwhite male, as a group despite improvement, averaged functionally illiterate in 1964 with total schooling of 4.8 years.

There are strong indications to support the opinion that total illiteracy, inability to read or write, is far more widespread than generally believed, especially among the ghetto youngsters who drop out of school well below the legal age and among nonwhite city adults, North and South, from the rural areas.

The tremendous importance of literacy is not only that jobs increasingly require the ability to read and write, but that even to be able to be trained for a possible job requires the 2 R's, if not the full 3.

The national total illiteracy rate averages 2.4%. The South ranks poorly. Thirteen Southern States (except Florida) each average over 3%; 9 Western and Midwestern States each average a commendable under 1% with the other 26 States averaging between 1% and 3%.

The Education Gap Closes: The Adult Nonwhite

There was a greater average number of years of school completed by the nonwhite as compared with the white between 1947 and 1964 in age groupings under 45; nonwhites increased their schooling by 3 years compared with half-year and 2-year increases for whites. This resulted in 1964 in the closing of the educational gap for the under 45-year-old nonwhites.

Increase in Average Years of School Completed, 1947-1964

	Age					
	25-29 yrs.	30-34 yrs.	35-44 yrs.	45-54 yrs.	55-64 yrs.	65 yrs. & Over
	S C H O O L Y E A R S					
White	0.4 yrs.	0.6 yrs.	1.9 yrs.	3.3 yrs.	1.5 yrs.	0.7 yrs.
Nonwhite	3.4 yrs.	3.2 yrs.	2.8 yrs.	2.3 yrs.	1.7 yrs.	1.0 yrs.

Although nonwhites in all age groupings have made important gains in their educational levels, the 25-34 year-old nonwhite has made exceptionally sharp advances since 1960. (It should be noted that the 1960 U.S. Census on Education using the 25 years and over population, still being widely used, is meaningless when the progress since then is observed.) In 1960, almost one of every 3 nonwhite males in this age group (30.5%) had less than 8 years of schooling. By 1964, this low educational attainment occurred in less than 1 out of 5 (18.4%). This tremendous improvement was true of the nonwhite female as well; from 1 out of 5 (22%) to 1 out of 8 (13%).

College Graduate - Nonwhite Male

In the past decade since the Supreme Court Decision on Education, the nonwhite male has made greater strides in college education than either the nonwhite female, the white male or the white female. Historically the nonwhite male has been behind the nonwhite female in college education attainment; by 1964, the nonwhite male in every age grouping actually surpassed her. The incentives of job opportunities, at least in some government and government-related enterprises, doubtless fostered this. It would also indicate, once again, that initiative, sacrifice and effort on the part of nonwhites is not lacking if opportunity (court decision) and incentive (open hiring) are there. The present reduced education gap also needs closing. But until the employment income gap also shows a better tendency to close, there may be an understandable discouragement. As indicated below, the nonwhite's college education is improving but his family income relative to that of the white is, if anything, worse.

Over the past 12 years, the number of college educated among nonwhite males and females has increased greatly, at a much higher rate than that of the white. Nevertheless, the nonwhite-white family income relationship has, if anything, declined.

Four or More Years College Educational Attainment
(Civilian Labor Force, 18 Years and Over)

	1964	1952
Male		
White	12.7%	8.6%
Nonwhite	6.0	1.9
Female		
White	10.1	8.3
Nonwhite	5.2	3.6

Family Income & Income Ratio of Nonwhite to White.

	1964	1952
Family Income White	$ 6,858	$ 4,114
Family Income Nonwhite	3,839	2,337
Ratio nonwhite to white	56%	57%

The comparatively rapid recent educational strides, especially among the Negro male 25-34 years of age is evident in the following table. During the 4 years 1960-1964, Negro males of this age group jumped their rate of high school graduates from 1 out of every 5 to more than 1 out of 4. Negro females from 1 in 4 to 1 in 3. The young adult Negro female showed a decline in college graduates but the Negro male forged ahead at a faster rate than the white male from 1 out of every 25 to 1 out of every 16 and to less than 1/3 the white rate in 1964 from 1/4 in 1960.

Years of School Completed, 25-34 Year Old Group
1964 and 1960

Years Completed	MALE				FEMALE			
	White		Negro		White		Negro	
	1964 %	1960 %	1964 %	1960 %	1964 %	1960 %	1964 %	1960 %
8 yrs. & Less	13.9	20.6	27.6	42.3	11.3	15.0	24.2	23.2
H. S. Graduate	38.7	31.3	26.7	19.6	49.5	43.6	32.7	24.8
College - 4 yrs or more	17.9	15.7	6.5	4.0	9.7	7.8	3.6	4.6
Average Years of School Completed	12.5	12.3	11.0	9.8	12.4	12.3	11.5	10.6

Chapter II

EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

The Racial Unemployment Gap Remains

"President Johnson reported Tuesday [March 8, 1966] the lowest unemployment rate in 13 years and ordered a close watch for labor shortages. The Labor Department said the number of jobless Americans dropped 100,000 in February (1966) to 3.15 million or 3.7 percent of the 74.7 million civilian labor force ...there was no overall shortage of workers. The problem is matching job openings by training the unskilled, providing better job opportunities for NEGROES WHOSE UNEMPLOYMENT RATE IS STILL DOUBLE THE WHITE RATE..."

The Times-Picayune, New Orleans, Louisiana, March 9, 1966

"In 1965, nonwhites constituted 11% of the labor force, 21% of those out of work 15 weeks or longer, and 27% of those jobless more than 6 months. These proportions have remained fairly constant over the past 8 years."

U. S. Department of Labor News Digest, November 1, 1965

The Unemployment Rate Gap

Education has not been enough for the job seeking nonwhite. Whether the 16-24 year-old nonwhite graduates or drops out from high school, he suffers the same very high unemployment rate of 16.1% and 16.3% respectively. Not so the white graduate; his unemployment rate is about half of the dropout rate, 7.3% and 12.8% respectively. In fact, as indicated further below, the nonwhite, male and female, with 1 or more years of college had a higher rate of unemployment in 1964 than the white with only a high school diploma.

With jobless rates for the country as a whole at new lows since 1957, there is still the same sad story of nonwhite unemployment nevertheless remaining double the jobless rate of whites. In October 1964, the nonwhite youth 16-21 years of age had an unemployment rate of 20.4% compared with 11.5% for whites of this age. In November 1965, when our economy was at a new prosperous high, the typical double burden on the nonwhite remained.

Unemployment Rate, November 1965

	Total Work Force	Teenage
White	3.7	11.5
Nonwhite	8.2	25.0

For the working population as a whole, for the teenager, for the adult male, and for the adult female, without exception, the double rate of unemployment continues for the nonwhite.

Unemployment Rates and Nonwhite to White Ratios 1957-1965

	1965	1964	1963	1962	1961	1957
Nonwhite	8.3	10.0	10.6	10.9	12.6	8.2
White	4.0	4.5	4.9	4.9	6.1	3.9
Ratio Nonwhite to White	2.1	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.1	2.1

Most recently, in January, 1966, with the lowest national unemployment rate (4%) for any month since 1957, the double nonwhite-white relationship remained unaltered, 7% unemployment for nonwhites, 3.5% for whites. The most recent teenage unemployment rate (for January 1966) was 12%; the month before (December 1965) at 13%, it was the lowest in 3 years; the rate since July, 1965 has averaged 25% for nonwhite teenagers as contrasted with 11 1/2% for whites.

Nationally the better the education, the lower the unemployment. This has not been true for the nonwhite. The better educated Negro in 1966 has not succeeded, then, in being as fully employed as the white nor even in having improved his position relative to the white. Despite his better education, despite the booming economy, the Negro's unemployment rate of both men and women remains at double that of the white.

Furthermore, these differences are understated. U.S. Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz says that he would expect more accurate measures to show "...behind that unemployment difference of two-to-one, a disadvantage difference of at least ten-to-one." (Emphasis by Mr. Wirtz).

National averages understate the severity of the problem in many areas. In the Watts Negro ghetto of Los Angeles, for example, estimates are that one out of every three men (33%) in that area are without work.

Reaffirming this observation, the New York City Report of the Mayor's Committee on Youth and Work (New York City Youth Board, December 1963) observes:

> "Ironically, the core of the city's unemployed male youth who may be most in need of job help are not even registered officially as 'unemployed'. The reason: even though they are not working, they are not considered part of the labor force because they are not actively seeking work; under the statistical reporting system used in the United States, only those in the labor force can be 'unemployed'. In addition, there are also thousands out of school, out of work youth of 14 and 15 years although the laws provide that they be in school."

It also is a hard fact that not only the rate but the duration of unemployment is far greater for the nonwhite. One out of every 3 nonwhite unemployed is a long-term jobless person (15 weeks or more) as compared with only 1 out of every 5 white.

Education and Employment

The following substantially higher nonwhite unemployment levels exist even when educational achievement is the same.

Education and Unemployment Rates, 1964

Years of School Completed	Male		Female	
	White	Negro	White	Negro
High School, 1-4 Years	4.6	10.9	5.7	13.8
College, 1 Year of More	2.4	6.1	3.2	8.2

In fact, the high school educated white, whether male (4.6) or female, (5.7) suffers less unemployment than the college educated Negro (6.1 and 8.2).

In October 1964, the national figures showed that white high school dropouts of both sexes fared much worse than graduates. But this was not so for nonwhites.

October, 1964, Unemployment Rate:
Out of School, Age 16 to 24

	High School Graduates	Dropouts
All Persons	8.2	13.6
White	7.3	12.8
Nonwhite	16.1	16.3

For nonwhites, graduate or dropout, a diploma made very little difference. They were equally unemployed and at the highest rates.

In fact, taking the younger 16 to 21 year-old group, as indicated below, nonwhite graduates suffered more from unemployment than if they had dropped out. Furthermore, for this younger group, although the double penalty for the nonwhite is the same (21.1% versus 10.7%), the unemployment rate is higher and the impact is therefore much more damaging; more than one unemployed out of every five young nonwhites 16-21 years of age against only 1 out of every 10 for the country as a whole. And, ironically, it was even worse for the graduate (21.1%) than for the dropout (20.5%).

October, 1964, Unemployment Rate:
Out of School, Age 16 to 21

	High School Graduates	Dropouts
All Persons - Both Sexes	10.7	16.6
Nonwhite - Both Sexes	21.1	20.5

And this hits proportionately more nonwhite youth because a greater part of nonwhites 16-24 years old are in the labor force (55.2%) than of the white (52.3%). Perhaps the recent (1964) slight decline in relative educational attainment of 18 and 19 year-old nonwhite youth, referred to before, may be a result of this discouragement.

Recently, America has taken great pride in having reduced the unemployment rate. Again and still, however, the disadvantage of the nonwhite relative to the white is startling in its consistent racial gap.

Chapter III

EDUCATION AND INCOME

The Racial Income Gap Remains

In the U.S. Census of 1960, the average 1959 annual income of nonwhite males was reported at $2,254, about half or 52% the income of the white males, $4,337. Four years later in 1963, the nonwhite male with only an 8.4% (or $190) annual gain in income fell relatively behind the white male who had gained a much higher 11% (or $479) meanwhile, and thus brought the relative position of the nonwhite male to only 51% of the white male. The May, 1965 Special Labor Force Report of the U.S. Department of Labor, No. 53, in examining white-nonwhite earnings over the years observes "There is no discernible pattern to these white - nonwhite income differentials; their fluctuation does not reveal any clear-cut tendency for the relative income of nonwhites to improve either over time or at higher levels of education."

The same pattern of unchanged relative low income is truly of family income, as well.

Ratio of Nonwhite to White Median Family Income

1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955
.51	.53	.51	.54	.53	.57	.56	.56	.55

1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
.53	.54	.51	.52	.55	.53	.53	.53	.56

As the table above demonstrates, nonwhite family income has been at about half that for whites over the years. In fact, the income position of the nonwhite family relative to the white was, if anything, slightly better in 1952 than in 1964. On the other hand, the educational attainment of the nonwhite, as the table below indicates, has increased at a much faster pace than that of the white, resulting in a higher nonwhite educational attainment relative to the white's (nonwhite-white rates).

Educational Attainment of the Civilian Labor Force 18 Years and Over, 1964 and 1952 and Ratios of Education and Family Income

Years of School Completed

	College 4 yrs. or more	Hich School 4 yrs. or more	Elementary 8 yrs. or less
White			
March 1964	11.8%	58.9%	22.6%
October 1952	8.6	46.1	34.9
CHANGE 1952 - 1964	+37%	+28%	-35%
Nonwhite			
March 1964	5.8%	34.6%	40.8%
October 1952	2.6	17.4	66.5
CHANGE 1952 - 1964	+123%	+99%	-39%
Nonwhite-White Ratio			
1964	49%	59%	180%
1952	30	38	190

Ratio of Nonwhite to White Median Family Income

1964	56%
1952	57%

As the above table indicates, the nonwhite has improved his educational attainment at a faster rate than the white between 1952 and 1964 and the nonwhite's education relative to white's has increased strongly from less than 1/3 to 1/2 at the college level and from 2/5 to 3/5 at the high school level. Despite this, nonwhite family income relative to that of the white has remained at about half, declining from 57 to 56.

The persistence of the income gap is evident in the persistence of extensive nonwhite poverty.

Poverty Status, March, 1964

	White	Nonwhite	Total
Population*	165.4 million	21.8 million	187.2 million
Population in Poverty	14.4%	49.3%	18.5%
Noninstitutional Population*			

The nonwhite gains in education have not changed this unequal pattern. The educated Negro male in the upper job categories still gets lower pay even when employed in those higher categories.

Average Income, Male, 1963 and 1960
Total and Professional

	Total Employed		Professional Technical and Managerial Workers	Professional and Technical	Managerial, Officials and Proprietors
	1963	1960	1963	1960	
White	$5,647	$4,855	$7,544	$6,693	$6,719
Nonwhite	3,103	2,703	4,308	4,563	3,869
Ratio Non-White to White	0.55	0.51	0.57	0.68	0.57

As is evident from the above table, nonwhite male income between 1960 and 1963 remained at about half that of the white, while the managerial officials and proprietors groups average income remained unaltered and was a little more than half (57%).

What of more recent advances, those of the past 5 years? Here too job upgrading is so slow that it may be considered a variation of the same rather than a trend of progress. In 1965, despite somewhat greater advances for nonwhites, the higher paying, longer lasting jobs, still went to nearly one out of two whites, compared with only one out of 6 nonwhites.

% of Total in Upper Job Categories*: Male, 1965 and 1960

	1965	1960
White	40.5%	39.6%
Nonwhite	16.5%	14.3%
Rhite-Nonwhite Ratio	2.5	2.8
White-Nonwhite Ratio	2.5	2.8

*Professional, Technical, Clerical, Managerial, Sales

In 1963, fringe benefits (retirement programs, health benefits, bonuses, vacations, etc.) of white collar workers averaged more than one-fourth of their basic salaries.

Underemployment of the nonwhite, so clearly reflected in both income and occupation data, remains one of the most serious bottlenecks in the drive for equal employment opportunity at the top. The judgment as to qualification, especially for upper level employment, is relatively subjective and flexible. For example, there is widespread dismissal and downgrading of Negro teachers in Southern schools at present, at the very time that the National Education Association estimates that the country needs a record 150,000 more teachers. Considering that proponents of school segregation have claimed that Negroes

were afforded "separate but equal" educational opportunities in segregated Negro schools, it is contradictory now to claim, as is being done, that white school teachers are better qualified. A recent survey finds that displaced Southern Negro teachers "must take jobs as maids and janitors to remain near their homes". This is not entirely an unfamiliar nonwhite employment pattern throughout the country.

The nonwhite, young and old, man and woman, with the same years of school completed as the white continues to suffer more than double the unemployment rate of the white. The nonwhite, male and female, with the same education still earns less than the white at every educational level. The nonwhite male and the nonwhite family is still underemployed and receives about half the income of the white.

Chapter IV

EDUCATION AND OCCUPATION

The Racial Occupation Gap Remains

With the same education attainment, there is sharply different occupational treatment for the nonwhite, both males and females.

By 1964, 6% of the nonwhite males in the labor force, 18 years and over, were college graduates. This exceeded even the improved nonwhite female rate of 5.2%. (Only as recently as 1952 the nonwhite female rate of 3.6% had been double the nonwhite male rate.) Relative to the white male, the nonwhite male between 1952 and 1964 improved his college graduate attainment sharply. Tripling his rate, the nonwhite male college graduate advanced from one-fourth to one-half the white rate.

White collar jobs, among other advantages, offer higher pay, more sustained employment, promotion opportunities and have more prestige than blue collar and farm jobs. In 1964, the male high school graduate was more than twice as likely to have a white collar job if he was white than if he was nonwhite and far less likely to be a blue collar or farm worker if he was white than if he was nonwhite. Even if he was a college graduate in 1964, the nonwhite male was more than 3 times as likely to have a lower paid job as was his white counterpart.

But even when employed in the white collar segment, the nonwhite is paid about half that of the white, reflecting the lower level jobs given to nonwhite even within the category. In 1963, the male in the highest major occupational group (professional, technical, managerial) earned an annual average of $7,500, but for the nonwhite, in exactly the same group, the pay averaged $4,300.

As the table below indicates, at all educational levels, the nonwhite, male and female, has a smaller percentage of its workers in the better jobs despite equal education attainment. The nonwhite female, college graduate is less likely to be hired at the white collar level than her white counterpart, is nevertheless more likely to be so employed than the male at secretarial, clerical and other such relatively lower paid white collar occupations.

Occupation of All Employed, 18 Years & Over, March 1964

Occupation and Sex	College 4 yrs. or More		College 1 yr. or More		H.S. 4 yrs. No College		Less than 8 yrs.	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
Male:								
White Collar	93.5%	79.0%	79.8%	58.9%	42.6%	19.6%	14.1%	4.6%
Blue Collar	5.2	20.0	18.1	40.6	52.9	78.5	66.2	77.4
Farm workers	1.3	1.0	2.1	0.5	4.5	1.9	16.7	18.1
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Female:								
White Collar	97.2	91.1	92.0	71.5	73.8	28.6	17.6	3.3
Blue Collar	2.6	8.2	7.5	28.2	25.0	71.3	76.4	92.3
Farm Workers	0.2	0.7	0.8	0.3	1.2	-	6.0	4.4
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Stated another way, with the same education, no matter the level, proportionately more nonwhite men and women still invariably suffer greater concentration in the more menial, lower paid, shorter lasting jobs.

% In Lower Paid Jobs,* March, 1964
Employed Population 18 Years of Age and Over

EDUCATION

	College Graduate		Some College		High School Graduate		Less than 8 yrs. of Schooling	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
White	6.5%	2.8%	20.0%	8.3%	57.4%	26.2%	85.9%	82.4%
Negro	21.0	8.9	41.0	28.5	80.4	71.3	95.5	96.7

* So defined by Bureau of Census: includes blue collar and farm workers.

For male college graduates, the proportion of Negroes in the lower paid jobs (21%) was more than triple the white rate (6.5%); for men with some college training, the proportion of Negro men employed in lower paid jobs (41%) was twice the rate of white men (20%). And within these broad categories, Negro men also have greater proportionate representation at the lowest paying levels. For example, even though a college graduate, the Negro male when employed as a blue collar worker is largely in the lowest paid laborer level. Similar patterns also exist for the female population - with household and other service taking the place of the laborer category.

Youth, Education and Occupation

The relative occupational disadvantage of nonwhite young (16-21 years) high school graduates reflects the same racial pattern of discrimination. As indicated in the table below, about 1 out of every 2 of all white youth high school graduates of this age not enrolled in college is employed in the higher paying longer lasting white collar and craftman jobs compared with only 1 out of 8 for his nonwhite counterpart. Most all nonwhites are in the lowest categories compared with only about half for whites.

Occupation Male Employed High School Graduates
Not Enrolled in College, 16-21 Years of Age October, 1964

Occupation	White	Nonwhite
Clerical & Other White Collar	30.2%	7.8%
Craftsmen, foremen	11.7	4.7
Operative & Kindred	33.7	48.0
Service, Laborers & Farm	24.4	39.4

For the male dropout 16-21 years of age, the same pattern is true. Well over half the white men were working compared with only better than a third of the nonwhite.

A recent survey of minority employment in the Federal Government, completed July 1, 1965 showed that Negroes, who comprise about 11% of the work force, held 13.5% of the federal jobs, but most in the low-paying categories.

A report (N. Y. Times, January 2, 1966) commenting on a study concerning racial discrimination in the 2,000 local State-run, federally financed offices of the United States Employment Service observes: "Authoritative sources said one of the main forms of racial discrimination found in state employment offices had been the continued placement of Negro job applicants primarily in the low-paid jobs traditionally performed by nonwhites".

The first labor union filed charges last December against an employer for racial discrimination under the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The union suit charged the company, which employes 20 white and 95 Negro workers, with discrimination against Negroes on wages, vacations and seniority.

Chapter V

QUALITY EDUCATION

Desegregation-Integration

"President Johnson created today a study group of Cabinet rank to develop a major Federal program to alleviate teen-age unemployment and other problems of social unrest this summer. The group will be headed by Vice President Humphrey.

"The Administration has had reports from some people who are studying racial tensions in the slums that the situation remains potentially explosive in many small cities as well as in the larger ones that have traditionally been the focus of concern."

New York Times, March 6, 1966

"Overwhelming majorities of the youngsters [in the U.S. ages 13-17 years] have no objection to sharing classrooms or churches with Negroes. Even in the South, 62% have no objection to sitting next to a Negro in school."

Louis Harris & Associates, 1966

The strong pressure on the part of Negro parents for desegregated education for their children is only a simple request for equal educational opportunities. The segregated school, like segregation in housing and occupation, makes it possible and easy to foster inequality, usually to the Negro's disadvantage. Harlem is a predominantly Negro community in New York City; in a recent conference on cities, an educational consultant, Mr. Christopher Jencks, indicated that Harlem spends only a little more than half of what Scarsdale (a wealthy New York suburb) pays per pupil. In general, the consultant stated, a wealthy suburb pays at least 50% more per child per year than a slum in the same metropolitan area. Further, suburban children stay in school almost 50% longer than slum children - from kindergarten through college compared with the slum's first grade through 10th or 11th grade.

The glaring deficiencies in the quality of education offered the nonwhite as evidenced by rundown overcrowded school buildings, lack of equipment, preponderance of undertrained staff, etc., has been the subject of countless studies in all areas of the country. Even where educational standards and expenditures are low for whites, they are drastically lower for nonwhites.

Among the many research reports indicating racial disadvantages in almost every aspect of education is a recent (1965) 151-page study "Pupils and Schools in New York City" prepared under the auspices of the highly regarded Russell Sage Foundation. The study shows, for example, that less than 1 out of every 4 predominantly Negro elementary schools has the regular complement of fully licensed teachers compared with more than 2 out of 3 for predominantly white schools. This is less than 25% versus over 67%, a very wide disadvantage for the Negro; but the fact is that the white, too, here lacks the appropriate educational requirements, lacking this essential in 1 out of every three white schools. In the junior high schools, the difference, to the Negro's disadvantage is even greater.

Quality public education by definition means desegregated, integrated schooling. Where nonwhite slum children suffer low educational standards slum children generally suffer these as well, and the community as a whole suffers the many effects of such low standards. Small islands of quality private and public education are and have always been established by and for more affluent communities and groups. But these are isolated and miniscule in terms of the total national educational operation. Responsible goals for parents and educators are possible only in terms of quality education for all. Otherwise, the battle is joined on poor education as against worse; the fight to keep children in inferior schools instead of sending them to impossible schools. Francis Keppel, former Assistant Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare for education is reported to have welcomed the civil rights focus on the severe shortcomings of nonwhite educational facilities since it helped to bring to the attention of the whole nation the dire shortcomings of white educational facilities as well.

Quality of Education

The question of the quality of education is a very important one. It means quality of jobs and level of income. And there are serious quality differences among regions, cities, and districts within a city.

At a New York City Planning Commission hearing in February, 1966, a Brooklyn Assemblyman stated that his committee had discovered "extraordinary ... pockets of educational poverty. In some districts $350 is being spent per pupil, in others $1,100. What kind of education a child gets seems to depend on where his father gets his apartment or home". Or his income.

This glaringly unequal educational opportunity for the nonwhite in both the North and South is made possible and enduring by legal and de facto housing and school segregation. Quality education for both white and nonwhite is financially feasible only on an integrated basis. The public school systems for both white and nonwhite throughout the country have been viewed in crisis terms by educators for a long time with serious and important educational deficiencies a common indictment of the entire education fabric.

Although here, as elsewhere, the nonwhite is at an added disadvantage.

As for measuring the quality of the education received, until we have some reliable, and nationally applicable measures, Department of Health, Education and Welfare Assistant Secretary, Francis Keppel has repeatedly suggested there can be no difinitive judgment of the relative quality of education, geographically or racially. The problems of measurements of educational achievement are extensive and even the partial solutions offered are controversial. The development of reliable, flexible and acceptable yardsticks is only the beginning. Even if this were done, overcoming the resistance of school administrations to having their school systems (there are some 33,000 heterogenous school districts in the U.S.) measured has so far proved an insurmountable problem. A controversial educational testing program is scheduled to begin in 1966 on a pilot basis supported by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Learning having the active approval of Mr. Keppel. The report of the plan states: "Few subjects are more controversial in educational circles than 'national tests', because school boards and regions fear invidious comparisons and possible Federal control." The tests to be used and prepared by commercial testing organizations "are supposed to be something new. They are neither intelligence tests nor the standard achievement tests". Recently (December 1965) the nonprofit Educational Testing Service, which administers the college board and other examinations, was awarded a $2.2 million grant over a 7-year period by the U. S. Public Health Service. The Testing Service president said the funds would support research into human learning, personality measurement and the theoretical foundation of testing.

Until acceptable tests are developed and applied nationally, the question of relative quality will probably be answered in terms of dollars spent, size of class, amount of equipment, etc., rather than that of educational achievement. But as one educational reporter observed, commenting on a study by a national citizens' organization that found "excessive bureaucratic timidity" strong and widespread in our public schools: "Under such circumstances, more money may just mean more of the same."

Years of school completed when considered alone are admittedly inadequate as the one and only guide of educational achievement. Nevertheless, they are the only national, governmental yardstick so far available.

Meanwhile, some indications of national educational needs and opportunities for progress are revealed by an increasing number of studies and experiments.

1) Some indication of the poor state of our national educational system may be gotten from the fact that of the total 41.4 million children enrolled in our public elementary and high schools in the school year 1964-5, 30.1 million, or three out of four, white and nonwhite, attended deteriorating or overcrowded schools.

2) When white students have equal access to inferior education, they respond accordingly. A recent study revealed that the richest and perhaps most modern city in the world, New York City, had an above average quota of substandard readers and arithmetic students in their public schools. As one reporter

noted "the overall findings were in marked contrast with announcements in previous years that the city system was ahead of, or on par with, the national achievement rate". Doubtless the disadvantaged school population, white and nonwhite, accounted for much of this poor performance. How much disadvantaged and what proportion nonwhite is not known. Observed one reporter, "Some teachers ...report that many children who do not fit into the disadvantaged category [white middle-class] when transferred from the city schools, must be allowed to catch up in their reading".

3) In September, 1964 the University of Michigan, in a pilot project gave 67 underprivileged slum area youngsters (64 of them Negroes) who had never considered college, Opportunity Awards to enable them to attend the University. At midterm, these students maintained a grade average as good as that of any group of freshmen; almost 20% had a "B" average or better.

4) A New York City homework-helper project started in 1962 and evaluated by Columbia University indicated that underprivileged, average high school students tutoring for two hours, twice a week, helped 4th and 5th grade pupils advance 40% in their reading skills.

5) Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz recently (November 17, 1965) reported that "Men and women from Negro colleges who take the Federal Service Entrance Examination have failure rates almost ten (10) times as high as the rate among other college graduates -- <u>until</u> they take a special cram course in how to pass the Federal Service Entrance Examination, at which point their passing rate goes up to about the white level". Professional cram courses to pass special exams are quite familiar to white colleges and their students. Perhaps now they will be as familiar to Negro college students.

6) In a report concerning the 90% who returned to the nation's 74 Job Corps centers after Christmas and New Year (1966) leaves, the observation was made that: "Urban Negroes in particular, the majority from broken homes and toughened by experience in America's cities, seem more able to adapt and are motivated by the desire to improve themselves with better jobs and education".

Chapter VI

NORTHERN EDUCATION: Southern Style

"Consequently, we do not believe a proper education for any child, white or Negro, can be provided in a segregation system."

"Black Belt Schools: Beyond Desegregation", Emory University Division of Teachers Education, published by the Southern Regional Council.

The needed focus on the lack of quality education in nonwhite de facto and de jure segregated schools has tended to obscure the ways in which segregation, whether by law or by fact, deprives whites as well, of necessary quality. The South has, of course, had long experience with segregated inferior schooling for nonwhites. The effect of this, as indicated in the next chapter, has also been to deprive its white population of quality education. With the large and continuing migration of Negroes to the urban centers of the North and West, segregated education has increasingly become a de facto illegality and a problem of national proportions.

The Migration Out of the South

In the half century between 1910 and 1960, about 5 million of the 7 million of net migration out of the South or (70%) was nonwhite. In the score of years between 1940-1960 the total net migration of 3 1/2 million persons was overwhelmingly nonwhite (over 87%). In the decade 1950-1960 the net migration of 1 1/2 million was all nonwhite. The waves of migration out of the South are apparent in the following data on the 8 northern and western cities with the greatest Negro concentration in 1960; almost half of these populations were born in the South. In 1960, 5 of the 6 cities ranking highest in Negro population in the country were in the North and West (New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Washington, D.C. and Los Angeles). In the 10 years between 1950 and 1960, 3 southern states lost over 30% of their Negro population by migration; 4 more lost over 19%; five more lost over 10%.

Racial Changes in North and Western U.S. Areas and Large Cities

City	1960 Negro Population	Negro Percentage of Total Population		
		1960	1950	1910
New York	1,084,862	14%	10%	1.9%
Chicago	812,836	23%	14%	2.0%
Philadelphia	529,191	26%	18%	5.5%
Detroit	482,260	29%	16%	1.2%
Washington, D.C.	411,612	54%	35%	30.0%
Los Angeles	334,763	14%	9%	2.4%
Cleveland	250,889	29%	16%	1.5%
St. Louis	214,174	29%	18%	6.4%

Negro Net Migration 1950-1960 From South to

Northeastern U.S.	541,000
North Central U.S.	558,000
Western U.S.	385,000

The continued brisk pace of Negro migration out of the South to the other regions while the white population remained about the same is evident in the table below.

Percent Distribution of Negro and White Population 1964-1960

Region	Negro		White	
	1964	1960	1964	1960
All	100%	100%	100%	100%
Northeast	18.1	16.0	26.1	26.1
North Central	19.4	18.3	29.4	30.2
West	8.1	5.7	17.1	16.3
South	54.4	60.0	27.4	27.4

The way these figures are reflected in the schools is exampled by the fact that Philadelphia recently (January 1966) reported that 57%, well over half, of its 266,963 pupils in public schools were Negroes; this was 3% higher than a year ago and 18% above a decade ago. And nonwhite school enrollment, because of the youth of the nonwhite population, tends to be relatively higher for nonwhites. For example, the Negro population accounts for 34% of Cleveland's total, but a much larger 52% of the school enrollment; nonwhites make up 23% (1960) of Chicago's population and 52.3% of school enrollment.

If present trends continue, Baltimore, Cleveland, Detroit, New Orleans and St. Louis are expected to have Negro majorities in less than 15 years; in some 30 years, Negro majorities are projected for the central cities of most metropolitan areas of the nation, with some almost entirely Negro.

Despite these realities and the surge of the job-seeking nonwhite population from farms into Southern cities as well, there has not been the necessary surge in educational and job opportunities. Massive effort and massive measures are obviously needed to meet massive change.

Conditions have, however, become worse. Finding in 1966 that more than two-thirds of racially segregated schools in the North are located in 10 of the largest cities, one school authority (Robert A. Dentler of Teachers College, Columbia University) observes:

> "After ten years of talk and five years of visible struggle, only Detroit among the six largest and educationally most segregated central cities of the North has made some progress. New York City, Chicago, and Philadelphia, among other major cities, are more severely segregated today than they were in 1954."

There are about 90 high schools in New York City. Not a single principal in them is a Negro. Over one million Negroes reside in New York City.

The McCone Commission Report following the 1965 Watts (Los Angeles) riot cited an important cause to be the fact that Negro "immigrants" still encountered the same "devastating spiral of failure" and that the schools were unfitted to the needs of the "disadvantaged". It recommended among other things a massive "emergency literacy program", preschool training and a large-scale job training and placement center.

The pressure for quality education in the northern and western ghettoes, then, cannot long be separated from the pressing need for quality education for whites who so closely surround these ghettoes.

By 1960, nonwhite families nationally already constituted a large average 19% or about 1 out of every 5 families in our central cities; for some individual cities the proportions are very high, far exceeding this national average. As is evident from the table above, more than 1 out of every 2 Washingtonians (54%) in 1960 was nonwhite as was almost every 3rd resident of Detroit, Cleveland and St. Louis. Studies and recommendations relating to the unrest that has erupted and threatened to erupt in so many of our cities all point to the urgent need of quality education and jobs for these nonwhites who, like waves of whites before them, have journeyed to the northern and western cities of the United States in search of job opportunities, education, upgraded occupations and a better living environment. But unlike their predecessors, the nonwhites are excluded by discrimination and growing segregation.

Movement to the cities since 1910 (when 73% of all Negroes and 52% of all whites lived in rural areas) resulted, by 1960, in 73.2% of the Negro population and 69.6% of the white living in urban areas. This trend has continued. Wedged into black ghettoes, the new city Negro has sought employment, without which he cannot educate his children. But between 1960 and 1963 such major centers of increasing Negro population as Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Detroit, New York, Newark, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh suffered declines in manufacturing employment (semi-skilled and unskilled jobs) and although this rose in 1964 in a number of cities, the totals did not rise much above 1960 levels, and in some of the largest centers (New York and Philadelphia) the downtrend persisted.

Chapter VII

SOUTHERN EDUCATION

Inequality For All

"In fact, in this period [1955-1960]. four states of the Deep South (Alabama, Kentucky, Mississippi, and Tennessee) lost one-third of their college-trained nonwhite young men."

"The Negro's Journey To The City"
1965 U. S. Department of Labor

And the South could ill afford the loss.

Some 3,000 educators at the annual meeting of the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (the regional academic accrediting agency) and the Southern Region Conference on Education, at a double conference recently (December, 1965) held in Washington, D.C. were reported (N. Y. Times 12/12/65) to have agreed, with few dissents, that the South's 11 states suffered from: (1) low teachers' pay; (2) inadequate spending per pupil; (3) an alarmingly high illiteracy rate; and (4) that the improverishment of Southern education was bad for business in the "New South".

	Average Teachers' Salaries, 1964	Average Spending Per Pupil, 1964
National	$6,105	$507
South	4,973	337

	Functional Illiteracy* Rate, Persons over 25 years, 1960
National	6.3%
South	15.1%

*Less than 5 years of schooling

This relatively poor showing for the South is not confined to the Negro. A recent careful study by a professionally recognized Southern educational institution indicated the great educational price white southerners pay for the segregation they themselves impose.

"A recent study of graduate education for the Carnegie Corporation judged that no southern university was to be found in either the top 12 of the nation or in the second group of 10. Only 6 of the South's universities - Duke, North Carolina, Texas, Tulane, Vanderbilt, and Virginia - have as yet achieved membership in the Association of American Universities". (The average southern college professor is paid 20% less than the national average.)

The recent (1966) book containing the above quotation "High Schools in the South: A Fact Book" reports the results of a study conducted by the highly regarded Peabody Center for Southern Education Studies (George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tennessee) covering 4,776 high schools in 11 southern states during the school year 1962-63; the 11 states were Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia.

The study revealed that although the educational attainment of the southern Negro was still lower than that of the white: "The Negro is continuing to decrease the gap by climbing the educational ladder at an increasing rate."

The conclusions, well supported by data, included the following:

1) There is serious educational deprivation among southern whites in their small high schools which cannot offer full curricula and this is directly tied to the southern system of segregated schooling.

2) "Segregation of the races has been a contributing factor to the perpetuation of many small high schools in the southern region." "The evidence justifies the conclusion that the prevalence of small high schools constitutes the most serious obstacle to quality education in southern secondary schools."

3) An overwhelming 75% of southern high schools with a combined enrollment of 900,000 pupils offered 40 or fewer courses although a program of at least 50 is considered even near the minimum recommended for an adequate high school program. As a result southern youth, white and nonwhite, are not provided an opportunity to take the variety of courses necessary in meeting their academic, vocational and avocational needs. For example, 59% of them, well over half, are in high schools that offer no courses in trade and industrial education, 57% have no opportunity to take an art course, 38% none in industrial arts, 13% no foreign language, (41% no foreign language in Mississippi where 48% attend schools offering fewer than 4 course units in science). Interestingly, the study also found that with the same expenditure per pupil, the larger the high school (minimum 500 optimum 900 - 1,250) the more courses and subject areas offered.

Despite these realities almost all southern high schools (about 87%) were smaller than the lowest required (at least 100 students in grade 12) to provide a minimum adequate high school program; this enrollment deficiency ranges from 61% of all high schools in Florida to 92% in Arkansas.

In summary: "The analyses of the data collected on the southern high schools strongly reinforce previous research findings in the high school size-program quality relationship. The size of the high school is a significant factor in determining whether each southern youth will have an opportunity to enroll in a variety of 'academic' and 'non-academic' courses, taught by highly qualified teachers who are working under conditions most conducive to teaching."

Cost of Education

Although money does not automatically buy quality, lack of money cannot buy teachers, equipment, classrooms and such necessities of education.

Estimated Expenditure for Public Schools per Pupil in Attendance 1963-64

(In descending order of expenditure)

State	Amount	State	Amount
New York	$ 705	New Mexico	$ 440
New Jersey	568	New Hampshire	427
Connecticut	552	North Dakota	420
Oregon	549	Missouri	419
Wyoming	540	South Dakota	403
California	530	Louisiana	399
Washington	515	Utah	394
Minnesota	509	Florida	388
Rhode Island	500	Texas	387
Delaware	498	Vermont	387
Wisconsin	498	Nebraska	385
Montana	493	Maine	378
Maryland	489	Oklahoma	351
Pennsylvania	485	Virginia	350
Illinois	479	North Carolina	320
Massachusetts	475	Idaho	316
Indiana	467	Georgia	306
Nevada	464	Arkansas	302
Colorado	460	Kentucky	300
Iowa	456	West Virginia	300
Arizona	455	Tennessee	291
Michigan	452	Alabama	280
Kansas	448	South Carolina	265
Ohio	446	Mississippi	241

The poor expenditure showing of the southern states is evident in the table above. Apparently this has not changed much in the past two years. In the 1965-66 current school year, expenditure per pupil for public education remained highest in New York ($869), New Jersey ($662) and Connecticut ($637), with Illinois ($612) and California ($603) rising to 4th and 5th rank from 15th and 6th respectively 2 years ago. Mississippi retained her poorest rating ($318) in the nation.

Chapter VIII

EDUCATING THE MAJORITY OF THE NONWHITE POPULATION

The Youth

The Very Young

"If we begin our work with 3 and 4 year olds, with nursery school classes, we have a powerful chance to be influential in canceling out deprivation that will otherwise affect every aspect of their lives. If we wait to act until they reach the third grade, or sixth grade, our chances for success are dramatically diminished. Then we must deal with negative attitudes toward learning which can defeat all our efforts."

Francis Keppel, Assistant Secretary,
U. S. Department of Health, Education
and Welfare.

Yet only about 3.2 million children ages 3 through 5, or only about 1 out of every 4 of all American youngsters of this age were enrolled in nursery school or kindergarten in October, 1964.

The Youth

"Spending a thousand dollars of tax money to develop into a mechanic's skill that boy's [16 year old dropout] interest in hot-rods will give the economy 40 years of service it needs; the tax expenditure will be returned many times over, where otherwise that boy will cost the community an average of $1,000 a year; and a whole life can be made meaningful instead of the tag end of one."

U.S. Secretary of Labor W. Willard
Wirtz, November 18, 1965

The youth of the Negro population affords an excellent opportunity for effective education. In 1964, about half of all Negro Americans, or 1 out of every 2 was 19 years or younger; almost 2 out of every 5 were 13 years or younger; about 1 out of every 7 was under 5 years of age. There is opportunity and social advantage here for reaching the pre-school child and the young with early education, before he can become educationally damaged or discouraged, of affording him the opportunity for education and training. It is also economic.

% of Total Population Under 14 Years of Age, 1964

Age	Male		Female	
	White	Negro	White	Negro
Under 5 years	10.9%	15.2%	10.0%	13.8%
5 - 13 years	18.7%	23.2%	17.3%	21.5%
Total Under 14 yrs	29.6%	38.4%	27.3%	35.3%

Proceeding from the very young to the youth and young adult, we have again a larger part of the Negro population in the 14-19 year old and the 20-24 groups, both male and female.

% of Total Population 14-24 Years of Age, 1964

Age	Male		Female	
	White	Negro	White	Negro
14 - 19 years	10.1%	11.1%	9.8%	10.7%
20 - 24 years	6.2%	6.4%	6.6%	6.9%
Total 14-24 years	16.3%	17.5%	16.4%	17.6%
And, finally, the young:				
Total Under 25 yrs.	46.0%	55.9%	43.7%	52.9%

FAMILY EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME FOR EDUCATION

The importance to education of equal employment and income opportunities for the nonwhite is evident. The Council of State Governments in its 1965 report on college enrollments and costs observe: "And as family income rises, more and more families find it financially feasible to send their children to college, or they are at least able to support themselves without the aid of their college age children."

According to the U. S. Office of Education, the average cost of attending a public college or university for one year is $1,560, for a private institution $2,370. This is well near prohibitive for the average nonwhite family for whom even only one in the family to be thus educated would represent from half to almost a full year's total average family income.

The Older Nonwhite

Additionally, the Negro of working age (18-64 years) has almost 50% more more children under 18 years of age dependent on him than the white, 91 children vs. 66 children per 100 persons of working age.

To enable the older nonwhite to carry out this heavier financial family responsibility, extra educational efforts to eliminate illiteracy and to provide job training are necessary and far cheaper than rising welfare costs.

An expert on job training costs estimates that even the rehabilitation and training of the hard core unemployed, which would take at least a year, pays off. Although the cost would be roughly twice the $1600 - $1800 spent in other manpower training programs, this cost is cheap when measured against the price of $2,500 each year on welfare.

The Revolution of Expectation

In the face of employment and income discouragement, it is remarkable that the nonwhite has been increasing his educational attainment at such a fast pace. He is asking, sometimes demanding, that his achievement be recognized.

Although there is still tremendous and pressing need to improve the education of the nonwhite American, his education will reward him little and eventually discourage him, perhaps dangerously, unless his job opportunities, employment and income are equal to that of whites with the same educational attainments. With the rapid strides in education made by the nonwhite in the past few years, there is urgent need to eliminate discrimination in the rewards for education as well as in the quality of education available. The revolution of expectation has taken root in America no less than in the rest of the world. These expectations can most constructively be met with a full employment economy, a desegregated school system, along with a program to increase and improve schooling facilities for all. A massive public works program would provide jobs for all unemployed, build schools, hospitals, libraries, homes so desperately needed, afford training in necessary skills and, at the same time, yield a better image of democratic America than do riots and their subsequent warnings of more unrest unless meaningful changes are made.

Integration For Progress

Population diversity has been the heritage of America. Yet as each wave of minorities has struggled into the economic and social mainstream, those on the inside have resisted, frequently violently. It is usually only after acceptance that the contributions of the minorities to the mainstream are finally conceded. What our nation's present nonwhite minorities are contributing and will continue to contribute to American educational achievements is history now in the making.

Perhaps the current groping for new methods and techniques to improve and enrich the educational level of minorities will aid the large numbers of whites who are no more prepared for our increasingly technological, cybernetic industrial economy and for our clamoring underdeveloped world.

It is perhaps anticipatory of this pattern that the Ivy League Colleges are making special effort to actively recruit the "different" student. "Diverse Campuses. More Colleges Seek Students With Unusual Backgrounds, Talents. Columbia Gives Negro Edge Over White Applicant; Yale Will Recruit in Puerto Rico." headlines a recent front page feature story in the Wall Street Journal. The report continues with the following:

> The statement by Columbia University's admissions' official, Henry S. Coleman: "We don't want the well-rounded boy so much as the well-rounded student body. It's definitely easier for a Negro to get into Columbia than a white student."
>
> By Harvard College's dean of admissions: "Diversity in the student body itself is as potent an educational factor as the faculty and the facilities. You want a farm boy banging heads with a city boy."
>
> Yale's almost doubling its admissions officers in the field in 1965 to expand its recruitment of high schools whose students are from blue collar homes and remote rural areas. Officers are also going to Puerto Rico for the first time.
>
> Stanford University's dean of admissions stated that his institution has stepped-up recruitment of youth from poorer families by visiting schools in working class areas.
>
> Princeton University's director of admissions, having accepted a young man whose "high school grades were mostly C's and D's. He is unathletic. In conversation he tends to be arrogant and cold.", observes: "The boy was weak in most areas - yet superb in one...He is a risk we never would have taken five years ago." Before World War II, Princeton took about 80% of its freshmen from private preparatory schools (relatively wealthy families); this compares with only about 40% today.

Chapter IX

SOME RECOMMENDATIONS

"We must be bold and imaginative, and foresighted. Too many Negroes, too many teenagers are still unemployed. Too many skilled jobs go begging while unskilled workers can't find a job.

"Few trained people are unemployed. Few educated people are without work. Our job is to provide more education for more people, more training for the unskilled. This will mean more jobs, less welfare."

President Johnson from his 3/8/66 Message to Congress reporting the lowest unemployment rate in 13 years as quoted by The Times-Picayune, New Orleans, La., March 9, 1966.

Employment for Education

Although it is usually said that better education is the key to employment, it would appear rather that the pressing educational need of the underpaid, underemployed, unemployed nonwhite is suitable employment and adequate income. Better jobs, fair and equal compensation are the most compelling educational components, for they mean that there is profit in education, that it pays off. They also provide the means to better housing and elimination of the ghetto school. Importantly, too, they supply the very funds necessary for one's own, one's son's, one's brother's education or at least enable families to support themselves without the aid of their college-age children.

This is pointed up by Dr. Lewis D. Eigen, Associate Director of the Job Corps: "The evidence seems to be coming in that the Negro youth by and large represent a higher caliber of youths in many variables, physically, mentally, and so on, in terms of their ability to make it and survive. I am fairly confident myself that it is a result of the distribution of those who apply. It is classic evidence, I think of the differential poverty - differential disadvantage due to race. The fact of the matter is the white boy with the same skills of these better Negro boys doesn't get to the Job Corp Centers. He gets a job. The Negro who normally would never end up coming through the door even to apply doesn't get that job and ends up in the Job Corps." This raised the question of how much the corps can do to help Negroes if their problem is racial discrimination in hiring.

The Scope of the Education Problem: The depth and extent of the educational problem in the United States can be gleaned from a recent (January 1966) statement by the Mayor of New York City who, observing that nearly 300,000 or about a third of the city's pupils were two years or more behind in reading ability said: "...the basic fact is that the New York City school system is not performing its function. Over 60% of the students in the vocational high schools and 30% of the students in academic high schools drop out, thereby becoming virtually unemployable in an age of automation."

A system of rewards may well hasten integration. If a slum school received extra funds, equipment, teachers and texts, or in sufficient quantity at least to elevate it to the educational standards of the neighboring white or suburban white school nearby, the desegregation process would have a smoother transition and a firmer and more rewarding basis for full integration would be established. Or the better equipped school could be financially compensated for bringing ghetto students into its school.

The effective carrot and stick approach to integration in the schools should prove effective. The strict enforcement of laws forbidding de jure segregated schools is, of course, a national legality and necessity. De facto segregation everywhere requires a more active enforcement authority and possibly new legislation. But the sharp and immediate upgrading of the subminimal slum school has to be a parallel program, if school integration is to shift meaningfully from statue to reality.

The School Plant:

The emergent need to improve old, obsolete school buildings and facilities are equalled only by the urgent need for new and expanded schools to relieve overcrowding and absorb the enormously increasing school population.

Federal Aid to Education:

The growth and mobility of our population has converted our local school into a national undertaking. It is therefore both unrealistic and self-defeating to attempt to run our 20th century multi-billion dollar school enterprise within its present 19th century local framework. Although states and localities are necessary educational administrative bodies, federal funds, federal standards, federal know-how and federal leadership are essential to assure a reasonably competent national educational system. It is generally agreed that our present educational system as a whole is not only obsolete, inadequate, understaffed and underequipped, but also that it is overwhelmingly inefficient in meeting today's needs.

Most importantly, available operating Federal funds are as urgent as federal educationally enriching legislation and administrative policy. If funds are not provided for programs, there are no programs. For example, President Johnson's new National Teachers Corps is unable to sign up the 3,750 teaching corpsmen that are its goal for this fall because the $13.2 million needed for the year ending this June is not yet forthcoming. The problem is that teachers are now already signing contracts in their districts for the Fall school year and the Teachers Corps may, even if it does finally get funds, find itself with no available teachers left. Also federal funds for education could be made available to private voluntary sectors for the purpose of energizing their resources and methods toward broadening the base for needed educational services.

Teacher Shortage

The current shortage of qualified teachers at every educational level has received national recognition and action. Overcrowded, understaffed classrooms are on the rise. The increasing number of teachers strikes reflect some of this. The situation is becoming more critical as our post-war expanded young population will be pressing on our already scarce educational resources. The harried teacher in the crowded, underequipped classroom will not easily be drawn to the field unless he is paid at least as much as the electrician. A crash program to train and re-educate (upgrade) more teachers to supply these needs is obviously a primary component of the increasing education-technological, economy - full employment complex. Students, like future professionals in other fields, will respond to attractive job prospects. Special efforts to finance the education of the would-be school teacher with no funds could tap this manpower resource. The need for school teachers currently is deemed critical. The National Education Association estimates that today we need 150,000 more teachers. In the current year (1965-66), for example, the number of college freshmen were at a record 1,452,926, an increase in one year of 17.8% over the 1,234,926 of 1964-65.

SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR EQUALIZING EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

Until the massive job of upgrading and integrating all education for underclass children is accomplished, extra educational programs are essential to help compensate, no matter how inadequately, for unequal opportunities due to discrimination. Such special service programs would necessarily operate at all age levels since discrimination operates at all levels. Because of the high proportion of under-25-year young in the nonwhite population and because potential for learning is considered greater at the early ages, extra programatic educational efforts should, from nursery through graduate school, prove exceptionally rewarding.

(1) A massive literacy drive to test and remedy illiteracy at all age levels to make job training possible.

(2) Widespread hiring of nonwhite school superintendents, principals, teachers and other professional personnel for both white and nonwhite schools and school districts as well as nonwhite representation on school boards for effective integration of policy-making administration, supervision and teaching staffs. Without such nonwhite participation at the upper management levels of education, true integration at the student level will be impossible.

(3) Pre-kindergarten and kindergarten classes in every locality as part of the public education system with emphasis on small classes.

(4) Developing and using text materials that realistically reflect a multiracial, multireligious world. Planning and using courses that realistically reflect minority group history and race relations.

(5) To make up for educational neglect at the elementary school level:

a) Programs to train and supervise paid tutoring by students and qualified adults.

b) Programs to train and supervise teachers aides, especially for overcrowded classrooms.

c) Overtime paid tutoring by present teaching staff and retired teachers.

d) Close periodic evaluation of programs by integrated staff of qualified educators.

e) Coordination agency to ensure national dissemination of successful new educational techniques and their application in new areas.

f) Extended free school lunch programs on a year-round basis.

g) All schools to be open on a 7-day, evenings and 52 week basis.

(6) To make up for educational neglect at the high school level:

a) Colleges, in cities, especially where located near slums, to provide tutorial and culturally enriching programs to ghetto high schools and vocational schools.

b) Ghetto and slum schools to be staffed on a full-day, full week-end, evening and full-year basis to provide plant and staff for remedial educational needs in order to raise the levels of performance, aspirations and goals of the high school student.

c) Part time student employment at the schools to provide funds, skills and incentive, especially at the 11th and 12th grade levels where high school may be terminable.

d) Trade school curricula to be geared to realistic, useful, necessary and business-related needs in the community guaranteeing the graduate a job with a future to match his developed ability and acquired skills. The guarantee to be made feasible preferably by industry (tax supported or induced) and/or socially urgent public works programs.

e) Correspondence courses, school administered and supervised with teachers checking student progress.

f) Devise and establish constructive measures to effectively combat, rather than police, truancy.

(7) To make up for neglect at the college level:

a) College and universities, where necessary, can follow the practice of some Negro colleges which offer the equivalent of 6 years of education within the 4 years of undergraduate study for students who require it.

b) Geographic proliferation of the nonresidential college, 2 and 4 year, because the poor student cannot afford to live away from home, even if on scholarship.

c) Greater federal financial support to the higher education institutions themselves to permit lower student costs.

d) Future profession-related part-time jobs at the college and greater financial support to the student.

e) Seeking and acceptance by more colleges of the "slow starter", the student who does not necessarily grade well before and during college, but shows sufficient aptitude and promise. Bi-racial college admittance committees would be essential to such a program.

f) Extra federal funds to spur recruiting of white students to nonwhite colleges and universities.

g) Providing special opportunities to nonwhite high school students in order for them to attend top quality colleges and universities.

h) Top quality colleges and universities to share curriculum and faculty with previously nonwhite schools.

Equalizing Educational Opportunities for The Mature Citizen

The educational and economic plight of the over-40-year Negro male is especially serious. Reflecting the heritage of poverty, isolated rural life and discrimination, he tends to be illiterate and untrained, unemployable for the most part. This reservoir of manpower has barely been tapped. A literate, employed population is basic to our nation's welfare and progress.

a) A massive literacy program.

b) Job training for usable skills; job placement to use these skills.

c) Matching job placement with whatever skills are possessed.

d) Complete physical rehabilitation where needed with the objective of trainability and employability.

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